

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11  
/066 W

-----018061 220912Z /11

P 220845Z JUN 78

FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7848  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 03926

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS : PINT, SHUM, TW  
SUBJECT : FRUSTRATION OF OPPOSITIONIST (I.E., NON-KMT)  
- POLITICIANS

REF: (A) TAIPEI 03894, (B) TAIPEI 03925

1. FROM RECENT EMBASSY SOUNDINGS WITH OPPOSITIONIST  
POLITICIANS IN TAIPEI AND DOWN-ISLAND, WE GATHER THAT  
THE OPTIMISTIC MOOD WHICH PREVAILED AMONG INDEPENDENT  
POLITICIANS FOLLOWING THEIR UNEXPECTED VICTORIES IN LAST  
NOVEMBER'S LOCAL ELECTIONS IS NOW GIVING WAY TO ONE OF  
FRUSTRATION. OPPOSITIONISTS HAVE BEEN INCREASINGLY  
AWARE THAT THEIR LOCAL OFFICES AS MAYORS, MAGISTRATES  
AND PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLYMEN DO NOT GIVE THEM MUCH POWER,  
AND THAT THE MAINLANDER-DOMINATED CENTRAL GOVERNMENT  
REMAINS IN ESSENTIAL CONTROL EVEN IN THEIR OWN BALIWICKS.  
THUS THEIR HOPES FOR CHANGING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM BY  
ESTABLISHING LOCAL BASES ON WHICH THEY CAN GRADUALLY  
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BUILD A NATIONAL MOVEMENT SEEM TO BE FACING CONSIDERABLE  
FRUSTRATION.

2. THE MAINSTREAM OPPOSITIONISTS HAD ALSO BEEN BANKING  
ON A CONTINUATION OF THE GROC'S RELATIVELY TOLERANT  
ATTITUDE TOWARD NON-PARTY POLITICAL ACTIVITY. HOWEVER,  
SOME DOWN-ISLAND POLITICIANS IN PARTICULAR FEEL THAT

THE TOLERANCE SHOWN BY THE GROC-KMT OVER THE PAST YEAR AND A HALF IS NOW GIVING AWAY TO A MORE REPRESSIVE POLICY. THEY CITE AS EVIDENCE THE RECENT CLOSURES OF SEVERAL PUBLICATIONS REFLECTIVE OF INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS' VIEWS (REF A), AND THE HOUSEHOLD SEARCH (AS WELL AS WHAT IS WIDELY RUMORED TO BE THE IMMINENT ARREST) OF MISS CH'EN CHU, A YOUNG LADY WHO WAS FOR MANY YEARS KUO YU-HSIN'S SECRETARY AND WHO, SINCE KUO'S EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTIVITY, PARTICULARLY AMONG STUDENTS (REF B).

3. THE MOST ACTIVE OPPOSITIONIST LEADERS, FOR THE MOST PART IN THEIR THIRTIES OR EARLY FORTIES (E.G., LEGISLATOR K'ANG NING-HSIANG, TAOYUAN MAGISTRATE HSU HSIN-LIANG AND PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLYMEN CHANG CH'UN-HUNG AND LIN I-HSIUNG), HAVE ADVOCATED A GRADUALIST APPROACH WHICH SEEKS TO AVOID UNNECESSARY CONFRONTATION WITH THE GROC-KMT. THEY ARE NOW CONCERNED ABOUT THEIR ABILITY TO MAINTAIN THEIR LEADERSHIP IF THEY ARE UNABLE TO SHOW THEIR CONSTITUENTS THAT THEIR PROGRAM BASED ON THE GRADUAL GROWTH OF THEIR POWER AND NON-CONFRONTATION WITH THE KMT WILL BE EFFECTIVE. MANY OF THEIR YOUNGER SUPPORTERS HAVE FOR SOME TIME BEEN PREPARED TO INTERPRET ANY GOVERNMENT-KMT REPRESSIVE ACTION AS EVIDENCE THAT THE MODERATE LEADERS ARE MISGUIDED IN CONFIDENTIAL

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BELIEVING GRADUAL CHANGE WITHIN THE SYSTEM IS POSSIBLE.

4. COMMENT: THE FRUSTRATION OF THE OPPOSITIONIST LEADERS WILL PROBABLY NOT BUILD TO A DANGEROUS LEVEL UNLESS THE GROC SHOWS BY A SEVERE CRACKDOWN THAT IT IS NOT PREPARED TO SHARE ANY DEGREE OF REAL POWER WITH NON-KMT POLITICIANS. IF THE CRACKDOWN OCCURS, THOSE LEADERS WILL INDEED BE CAUGHT BETWEEN A REPRESSIVE GOVERNMENT AND A VOLATILE, MORE EXTREMIST YOUTH. WE BELIEVE THAT PRESIDENT CHIANG CHING-KUO IS AWARE OF THE DANGERS OF SUCH A COURSE OF ACTION ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT AND WILL PROBABLY WISH, WHILE TRYING NOT TO ENCOURAGE OPPOSITIONIST ELECTORAL PROSPECTS, TO AVOID REPRESSION WHICH WOULD STIMULATE EXTREMISM. UNGER

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL STABILITY, POLITICAL LEADERS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
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**Draft Date:** 22 jun 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
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**Disposition Reason:**  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**TAGS:** PINT, SHUM, TW  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
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